

# WORKERS PRESS

INCORPORATING THE NEWSLETTER ● THURSDAY JUNE 1, 1972 ● No. 780 ● 4p

DAILY ORGAN OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE

# TORY PLAN TO SPLIT RAILS FROM DOCKS

BY AN INDUSTRIAL CORRESPONDENT

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The government's plan is temporarily to stave off the national docks strike due to start tomorrow.

And having isolated the railwaymen, the Tories want to deliver them a savage blow.

Because of the extreme economic crisis and their necessity to come back at the working class following the miners' strike, the Tories are compelled to bash the country's 230,000 railwaymen.

The Tories want to set up the railmen in the same way they did the postmen early in 1971.

It is because of the Tories' vicious plans that today's docks delegates meeting at Transport House assumes such extreme importance.

The delegates will not simply be deciding the fate of their own members, but also the fate of the railway workers too.

A successful Tory attack on the railmen will be felt throughout the trade union movement; it will be a body blow to all trade unionists.

At stake in the rail fight is whether or not the Tories are going to be allowed to push unions around and smash up their traditional rights to bargain for better wages and conditions.

This is the question, therefore, that hangs over the docks delegates when they meet.

There must be no retreat now in the face of this Tory offensive.

It would be criminal dereliction of trade union solidarity if the Transport and General Workers' Union pulled back.

It would be a repeat of the scandalous decision in January by the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers to drop the national pay claim—thus leaving the miners to fight alone.

If the trade union movement and its hard-won rights are to be preserved, there must be a fight to the end with this government.

The decrees of the National Industrial Relations Court—fines on unions, attacks on shop stewards—show that the Tories want to destroy the unions.

To exterminate this court and the Act which stands behind it, the working class has to put the Tories out of office.

Railwaymen and dockers who are today in the front of the struggle against the government must stand together. No splits, no surrender!



Poll workers start the vital rail count

## Bomb plot alleged

THE Stoke Newington Eight were yesterday accused of seeking 'to disrupt and attack democratic society of this country with whose structure and politics they apparently disagree'.

Opening the prosecution, John Mathew said they carried out 'a wave of violent attacks over quite a lengthy period by

causing explosions aimed at the property of those whom they considered to be their political or social opponents'.

Four men and four women have pleaded not guilty to a total of 11 counts of conspiracy to carrying out explosions and possession of firearms and explosives.

Mathew outlined a series of bomb attacks including two on the home of Tory ministers John Davies and Robert Carr. The responsibility for them

'can be shown to emanate from a common source,' he added.

Describing the premises occupied by several of the defendants, he said: 'The flat was an arsenal of guns and explosives and was clearly a factory for the manufacture of bombs.'

'Found there were sticks of explosives and detonators of the type used in bombings and the Beretta sub-machine gun which had been used to fire at the US and Spanish embassies.'

# PAPERBACKS CENTRE

OPENS TODAY 10 a.m.  
IN THE WEST END

New Park Publications Ltd is pleased to announce the opening of the Paperbacks Centre at 28 Charlotte Street, W.1. today, June 1, at 10 a.m.

DAVID MERCER, the well-known playwright, has kindly agreed to open the shop. All readers of the Workers Press are cordially invited to join him.



DAVID MERCER

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# WHAT WE THINK

## STRANGE BEDFELLOWS

FROM the right-wing 'Times' to the Stalinist 'Morning Star' there is a chorus of unanimous approval for the Official IRA 'truce'.

Whatever initial scepticism 'The Times' may have had about the earnestness of the Officials' overtures to Whitelaw has now been dispelled in the aftermath of the army's all-out operation on Monday to capture the Provisional leader Martin Meehan in the Ardoyne. In this operation, the largest of its kind for some time, four Catholics were shot dead and one soldier seriously wounded. Significantly, the Officials' statement of an indefinite and unilateral truce—unprecedented in the history of war—came just at the time when the British army was trying to exterminate the Provisionals' supporters.

Just as significantly, the army declined to give reasons for the Ardoyne operation. Hence 'The Times' lost little time in presenting an editorial accolade to the Official leaders, whose political cynicism is truly boundless.

'Whatever comes of it, the ceasefire announced from the headquarters of the Official IRA in Dublin... is another tidemark in the flow of opinion in favour of a cessation of violence...'

'It comes not a moment too soon for Mr Whitelaw and the success of his mission. He was banking on it, and he has been able to do more than anyone else to foster it.'

'The Times' follows this with a gratuitous insult to the Catholic workers by alleging that the 'popular disgust' at the IRA violence has been caused by 'sheer war-weariness'.

This is a typical capitalist argument which attributes the betrayals of leadership to the so-called apathy and weariness of the masses and, at the same time, gives credence to the lie that the repressive forces of imperialism are invulnerable to working-class resistance.

'The Times' is not the only advocate of this thesis.

The same idea is used by the revisionist spokesman for the International Marxist Group, Bob Purdie, in his pamphlet 'Ireland Unfree', to justify the abandonment of the previous IRA campaign between 1956-1962.

The Vietnamese people have already given, in the course of three decades of heroic struggle, the answer to this banal and reactionary thesis.

What has brought about the confusion in Republican circles—and there are undoubtedly many courageous Officials who are seriously worried by the sudden turn in Official policy—is not war-weariness but the reformist-terrorist and anti-Marxist policies of both wings of the IRA.

To these sincere and devoted fighters who, in a confused way and misled by an atrocious leadership, try to transcend the armed self-defence of the ghetto with a campaign to drive the British army out of Ulster, we quote the impeccable advice of Trotsky:

'Isolated terroristic explosions are inevitable whenever political oppression transgresses certain boundaries. Such acts almost always have a symptomatic character.

'But politics that sanctify terror, raising it into a system—that is a different thing.

'"Terrorist work," I wrote in 1909, "in its very essence demands such a concentration of energy upon 'the supreme moment', such an over-estimation of personal heroism and, lastly, such a hermetically-concealed conspiracy as... excludes completely any agitational and organizational activity among the masses..."

'Struggling against terrorism, the Marxist intelligentsia defended their right or their duty not to withdraw from the working-class districts for the sake of tunnelling mines underneath the Grand Ducal and Tsarist palaces.'

'It is impossible to fool or outwit history. In the long run, history puts everybody in his

place. The basic property of terror as a system is to destroy that organization which by means of chemical compounds seeks to compensate for its own lack of political strength.

'There are, of course, historical conditions where terror can introduce confusion among the governing ranks.

'But in that case who is it that can reap the fruits? At all events, not the terrorist organization itself, and not the masses behind whose backs the duel takes place.

'Thus, the liberal Russian bourgeois, in their day, invariably sympathized with terrorism. The reason is plain.

'In 1901 I wrote: "In so far as terror introduces disorganization and demoralization into the ranks of the government (at the price of disorganizing and demoralizing the ranks of the revolutionaries), to that extent it plays into the hands of none other than the liberals themselves."

The switch from terrorism to undisguised liberalism by the Officials is a timely confirmation of Trotsky's warning.

Official IRA militants would be well advised to take a searching look at Sinn Fein and IRA doctrine and leadership—particularly at Mr Tom MacGiolla, president of Sinn Fein.

This opportunist and reformist long ago laid down the basis for the present surrender when he explained to the US revisionist Gerry Foley in July 1970 the basic outlook of the Official leadership.

After denouncing 'Soviet imperialism' and boasting about the reformist campaigns of Sinn Fein as the 'fish-ins' MacGiolla told Foley:

'The manner in which the people through a revolutionary movement take power could be either through a popular demonstration and unrest; it could be through the ballot box, by the people electing revolutionaries for a revolutionary purpose; or it could be by armed revolt.

'And as I say, we have a completely flexible outlook on this.'

Recently, in the Common Market referendum, the same person said that the Common Market took precedence over Ulster. This is the outlook of a reformist charlatan posing as a Republican revolutionary.

It is impossible to be 'flexible' on the vital question: reform or revolution in Ireland. Heath's 'direct rule'—and 700 years of repression—have irrevocably eliminated any prospect of a peaceful unification and independence for Ireland.

Now Sinn Fein reformism, not surprisingly, finds powerful support from the Stalinists as well as the Catholic Church and Whitelaw.

The 'Morning Star' editorial unashamedly proclaims that the Official IRA 'initiative' 'expresses increased understanding that the main battle must be a political one, involving masses of people in action, and aimed at breaking down the sectarian barriers...'

'The danger of a sectarian civil war has now been recognized by the Official IRA in its decision to suspend military operations.' (May 31.)

What an alliance this is! The men who denounce 'Soviet imperialism' and the rascals who consistently opposed armed struggle in Ireland have now united in a common struggle to disarm Irish Republican militants politically and militarily.

For IRA militants the lesson is clear: you can no more reform Sinn Fein than you can rejuvenate Stalinism politically. They are politically bankrupt and impotent. The only way forward now is to build the alternative to Stalinist reformism and Republican terrorism through an uncompromising struggle for Marxism against the idealist confusion spread by the Church, the nationalists and the reformists. The assembly of a cadre steered in such struggle is the most vital political task in Ireland.

# EUROPE SECURITY PACT CLOSER

BY JOHN SPENCER

NATO Foreign Ministers meeting in Bonn yesterday agreed to enter into multilateral conversations with the East European Stalinists in preparation for a European Security conference.

Preparatory talks will take place between senior diplomats in Helsinki at the invitation of the Finnish government.

The Soviet government has been campaigning vigorously for such talks since 1967. Its campaign was stepped up after the May-June events in France and the invasion of Czechoslovakia.

The proposal for a European security conference has the firm support of the British government—together with the Spanish fascists, the Greek colonels and the Gaullist regime in France.

Sir Alec Douglas-Home, Tory Foreign Secretary, is reported to have told the ministerial meeting that a world seeking detente cried out for such a conference.

It would, he said, provide a chance to separate western and eastern ideologies and to find common ground for co-operation.

The British Communist Party has for months been



Home

## CP TO CHANGE LINE ON COMMON MARKET?

campaigning against Home on the grounds that he is out to 'sabotage' a detente in Europe.

The purpose of this campaign is to put pressure on the Tories and persuade them to become more amenable to Soviet plans for joint policing of the continent.

The stepping-up of this campaign was one of the points raised by a high-level Soviet delegation which recently visited Britain to examine the situation of the Communist Party.

The delegation, according to the 'Daily Telegraph', was headed by Soviet central committee secretary I. V. Kapitonov and came with the knowledge of the British government.

Earlier this year, Soviet party chief Leonid Brezhnev proclaimed the Kremlin's willingness to recognize the Common Market as a step towards detente with European capitalism.

Now that NATO has agreed to begin the preparations for the European Security Conference, the British Stalinists' chauvinistic pose of opposition to the Common Market may well turn into acceptance of this conspiracy against the European working class.

## Spanish shipyard strike bound

DESPITE a big wage offer from the management of the Barreras shipyard, in Vigo, North West Spain, 2,500 strikers there are staying out to demand the release of 15 of their comrades arrested last week.

Earlier this week the company agreed to a 34 per cent wage rise spread over two years.

This offer is way above the fascist government's 'norm' of 7 per cent. It was accepted by the workers on condition that the arrested strikers are freed.

The strike is now a direct confrontation with the Civil Governor of the province, who alone has the power to free the arrested men.

## Amnesty call

SEVENTY - SEVEN political prisoners detained for up to 10 years by the Rhodesian authorities have not had their cases reviewed since the announcement of the Anglo-Rhodesian settlement proposals last November.

The international organization 'Amnesty' says that in any future consideration of the Rhodesian problem, the practice of depriving African nationalists of legitimate political rights should be given priority consideration.

THE MOTHER of a man jailed for trying to assassinate the Greek Prime Minister said yesterday she plans a hunger strike to save her son from extermination.

Mrs Athina Panagoulis, 60, said in a letter to news agencies she planned to start the indefinite strike outside the American embassy in Athens next Monday.

Her son, Alexandros Panagoulis, 33, was sentenced to death, later commuted, in November 1968 after admitting he planted a bomb which exploded on a coastal road seconds after the Prime Minister George Papadopoulos had passed.

## Hanoi exposes Nixon's war-crimes

FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT

**NORTH Vietnamese government spokesmen have cited seven cases of severe attacks on irrigation dikes and sea walls by the US Air Force.**

The Hanoi Ministry of Water Conservation, in a statement issued at the weekend, says the Americans have bombed the dikes on 42 separate occasions, dropping a total of 580 demolition bombs.

In addition, the sea walls along the low-lying coasts have repeatedly been shelled by US ships in the Gulf of Tonkin, the statement said.

On April 30, at a barbecue on Treasury Secretary John Connally's Texas ranch, Nixon told reporters he had avoided bombing the dikes because it would cause 'very serious casualties to civilians'.

'We want to avoid this. Moreover it is unnecessary,' he said. The North Vietnamese statement nails this lie.

It cites several cases. In Nge An, from April 10 to April 20, US planes dropped 126 demolition and anti-personnel bombs on dikes around the Lam River, seriously damaging them and killing or wounding many workers at work.

Dikes on the La River at Ha Tinh were bombed on May 4

and 5; along the Ma and Len Rivers in Thanh Hoa, 158 large bombs were dropped on dikes and irrigation works at various dates from April 19 to May 18; in Ninh Vinh, from May 2 to May 23, dikes and irrigation works were attacked, one particular dike with 28 demolition bombs which destroyed 150 yards of the river wall.

In Nam Ha, between May 6 and May 17, US planes attacked dikes on the Red River tributaries, causing heavy damage, while in the same period, US warships shelled sea dikes in Hai Hau district, damaging sluices and portions of the sea wall.

On May 21, US planes dropped 180 demolition bombs on a

portion of the sea wall at Thai Loc in Thai Binh province.

The purpose of the dikes is to control water supplies and prevent flooding during the monsoon season. The Vietnamese point out that the US action is a clear breach of international law.

The Hanoi newspaper 'Nhan Dan' adds that the Nuremberg war-crimes tribunal hanged the Austrian Nazi Seyss-Inquart for—among other crimes—destroying the sea walls in Holland and flooding nearly 400,000 hectares of farm-land as a reprisal against the resistance.

The bombing of the dikes in North Vietnam shows Nixon's hypocrisy is equalled only by his barbarism.

## China bars Soviet ships

CHINA has refused to allow Soviet merchant ships unrestricted use of her ports to discharge war supplies for North Vietnam, according to reports from Hong Kong.

Negotiations on access to Chinese ports following the blockade of North Vietnam's coast are apparently stalled because the Soviet negotiators have refused to specify the number of ships or say how long the operation is likely to last.

Soviet vessels barred by the US blockade from entering North Vietnam headed for China instead without realizing the Chinese would bar free entry.

Sources in Peking said yesterday that East European—but not Soviet—ships would be allowed to use Chinese ports to unload cargoes for Hanoi.

# LIFT 'BLACK' PLEA FAILS ON MERSEY

LIVERPOOL dockers yesterday unanimously and noisily decided to maintain their blacking of container firms in defiance of their own union leadership and the orders of the National Industrial Relations Court.

'No, you're not on,' roared the dockers when Lew Lloyd, district secretary of the docks section of the Transport and General Workers' Union, asked them to lift the blacking.

Lloyd put a series of pathetic pleas to the packed meeting at the city's Boxing Stadium.

'We have no defence against the Court,' he said. 'They're taking all our money.'

He also said: 'Blacking is not going to be effective. Heaton's will get their money back in damages. We've got to get back to a dispute with the employers...'

'The law of the land has got us by the cobbles... Let's get back to a situation where we work inside the law... I rely on you to lift the blacking.'

'No chance,' shouted the audience. Unanimously the 10,000-strong meeting decided to continue the black.

The Liverpool dockers are blacking three firms—Heaton's Transport (St Helens) Ltd, Cradock Bros, of Wolverhampton, and Bishop's Wharf, Warrington.

Defiance of the court's instruction to lift the black has already cost the T&GWU £55,000 in fines.

Dockers at the Port of London, Tilbury, Hull, Preston and Manchester have voted in the past week to continue the blacking.

A showdown will occur in the NIRC on Friday when the



Lloyd: 'They're taking our money.'

## 'You're not on', roar dockers

Court's deadline for lifting the black expires.

Court president Sir John Donaldson has already indicated that he will deal very severely with the union and its members if they ignore his instructions.

Hull dockers yesterday lifted the blacking on the cargo ship 'City of London', which had been idle in the dock since last Friday.

Half of the ship's cargo had been discharged when the dockers stopped work. They said the ship had been sent to Hull because of an overtime ban in the London docks.

The 'misunderstanding' was settled yesterday when the owners maintained that the 'City of London' was a regular trader with Hull and all her cargo was to be discharged there.



Dockers pour out of the Stadium after their meeting.

## Suspects' rights trampled by police

POLICE are deliberately ignoring the right of suspects to see a solicitor while under interrogation, according to an article in the 'Criminal Law Review'.

A survey of 137 people who had appealed after conviction at assize or quarter session was carried out by Michael Zander, Reader in Law at the London School of Economics. It revealed that 74 per cent of those who had asked to see a solicitor had been refused.

One respondent said: 'I did ask the police.'

'They said: "Who is your solicitor?" I said: "I haven't got

one." They said: "Well, you can't contact one, can you?"'

Another claimed the police said he was at liberty to contact his own solicitor if he wished.

'But I was not allowed to leave the room I was in, which had no telephone.'

In a third case, the suspect said: 'They refused me. I persisted. I did not get to see a solicitor until four days after I was arrested.'

The disclosures coincide with the mounting Tory chorus for stiffer penalties against offenders and for the reform of police procedure including the abolition of the caution.

## Auden spurns Laureate's job

POET W. H. Auden denied in a letter to 'The Times' yesterday that he is interested in succeeding Cecil Day-Lewis as poet laureate.

'I was amazed and distressed', he wrote, 'to read... that my New York agent is reputed to have conjectured that I would not mind becoming a British citizen again if, thereby, I could become Poet Laureate.'

The British born poet, who is now an American citizen, went on to say: 'Even if I coveted the post, which I don't, to do such a thing for such a motive I should regard as contemptible.'

## 'We're not trapeze artists' say construction men

C. A. PARSONS and Co Ltd has suspended 117 men on a power station site at Drax, near Selby, Yorkshire.

The dispute will delay the completion of the first turbine at the £130m power station.

Men who work for Parsons on the site have been demanding increased safety measures. Shop steward Brian Bottomley said:

'If the men were prepared as they have been in the past to swing around like circus trapeze artists, the firm was bound to get more work done. 'But we have not had a pay

increase for nearly two years and we don't think the money we are getting now is worth risking injury.'

The men recently put in a claim for an extra £5 a week and in reply were offered only £1.50. They then introduced a work to rule.

When an ultimatum from the company to resume normal working expired on Tuesday, the 117 men were suspended.

A spokesman for Parsons commented: 'This dispute affects not only ourselves but other contractors and we are following the same line as other employers.'

## BOOKS



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## ALL TRADES UNIONS ALLIANCE MEETINGS

Support the dockers and railwaymen. Build Councils of Action

**AYLESHAM:** Thursday June 1, 8 p.m. The Legion (Old Working Men's Club), Burgess Road. 'Fight the Tories' rent Bill.

**BIRKENHEAD:** Sunday June 4, 7 p.m. Royal Castle Hotel (opp. Cammell Laird's).

**ACTON:** Monday June 5, 8 p.m. Co-op Hall, High Road. 'Fight the Tories' rent Bill.

**NORTH KENT:** Tuesday June 6, 8 p.m. SOGAT House, 25 Essex Rd, Dartford. 'Engineers' pay claim'.

**DAGENHAM:** Tuesday June 6, 8 p.m. Co-op Hall, Fanshawe Ave, Barking. 'Industrial Relations Act'.

**SOUTH LONDON:** Tuesday June 6, 8 p.m. Clapham Manor Baths, Clapham Manor Street, SW4.

**WEST LONDON:** Tuesday June 6, 8 p.m. 'Prince Albert', Wharfedale Road, Kings Cross.

**GLASGOW:** Tuesday June 6, 7.30 p.m. Room 1, Partick Burgh Hall.

**NORTH LONDON:** Thursday June 8, 8 p.m. 'Bricklayers Arms', Tottenham High Rd (nr White Hart Lane).

**CROYDON:** Thursday June 8, 8 p.m. Ruskin House, Coombe Road.

**LUTON:** Thursday June 8, 8 p.m. St John Ambulance Brigade Hall, Lea Road.

**SOUTH EAST LONDON:** Thursday June 8, 8 p.m. Deptford Engineers' Club (opposite New Cross Station).

**SOUTHALL:** Thursday June 8, 8 p.m. Parkway Rooms (Rent Office), Racecourse Estate, Northolt.

**PRESTON:** Thursday June 8, 8.30 p.m. Railway and Commercial Hotel (nr rail stn), Butler St.

**COALVILLE:** Thursday June 8, 8 p.m. Miners' Welfare. 'Organize Councils of Action'.

# MARX AND CLASSICAL POLITICAL ECONOMY

BY PETER JEFFERIES PART FOUR

Let us look more closely at Marx's analysis of the commodity.

In his 'Marginal Notes on A. Wagner' (recently made available in English for the first time) he tells us: 'I analyse this (the commodity) and indeed, first in the form in which it appears. Here I find on the one hand it is in its natural form a thing of use, alias a use-value, on the other hand a bearer of exchange value, and in this respect itself "exchange value". Further analysis of the latter shows me that exchange value is only a "phenomenal form", an independent mode of representation of the value contained in the commodity.'

Hence, Marx says he was wrong (I, p. 60) 'when at the beginning of this chapter, we said, in common parlance, that a commodity is both a use-value and an exchange value (for)... a commodity is a use-value or object of utility and a value. It manifests itself as this two-fold thing, that it is, as soon as its value asserts an independent form—viz the form of exchange value. It never assumes this form when isolated but only when placed in a value relation with another commodity of a different kind. When once we know this, such a mode of expression does no harm; it simply serves as abbreviation.'

The most generalized value form was, of course, the money form (one coat=£2). Marx seeks, in his analysis of the value form, to trace the genesis of this money form from the internal structure of the commodity and to demonstrate its further development in the form of capital.

'Here, however, a task is set us, the performance of which has never been attempted by bourgeois economy, the task of tracing the genesis of this money form, of developing the expression of value implied in the value-relations of commodities, from its simplest, almost imperceptible outline, to the dazzling money-form.' (I, pp. 47-48.)

In general, Marx was once again showing the origin of all the 'appearances' within the capitalist system were explicable only in terms of the social relations of production. Thus he shows that the contradictions within a single commodity (as a value and a use value) are necessarily overcome only through the relations established between two commodities in what Marx calls the accidental or 'elementary' form (one coat equals 20 yards of linen).

'Hence the elementary form of value in which the contrast contained in that commodity, between a use value and value, becomes apparent.'

Here are two crucial points. First the category value can only appear as its opposite, exchange value; it is its 'necessary appearance' in the sense discussed above.

Second, and following from this point, Marx insists that the category exchange value

arises from the category 'value' and not vice versa: 'Our analysis has shown that the form and expression of the value of a commodity originates in the nature of value, and not that value and its magnitude originates in the mode of their expression as exchange-value.' (I, p. 60.)

Marx now subjects this elementary form of value to a detailed investigation. He discusses the three 'peculiarities' of the form 20 yards of linen (the relative form) equal one coat (the equivalent form) when he examines the role of this equivalent.

'The first peculiarity that strikes us... is this... use value bears the form of manifestation, the phenomenal form of its opposite, value... the second peculiarity... is that concrete labour becomes of the form under which its opposite, abstract human labour, manifests itself... a third peculiarity... namely that the labour of private individuals takes the form of its opposite, labour directly social in form.' (I, pp. 56-57-58.)

Next we find how this accidental form leads to the 'expanded' form along with the development of capitalism. This is given by 20 yards of linen equals one coat, or ten pounds of tea, or 40 pounds of coffee etc. This form heightens the contradictions only implicit in the accidental form:

'It becomes plain that it is not the exchange of commodities which regulates the magnitude of their value but, on the contrary, that it is the magnitude of their value which controls their exchange proportions.' (I, p. 63.)

But this expanded form suffers from grave 'defects' in that it is an 'incomplete' form—the creation of every new commodity lengthens the chain and thereby furnishes the material for a fresh expression of value.

Hence out of these contradictions arises a general value form (one coat, 10 lbs of tea, 40 lbs of coffee, etc. equal 20 yards of linen). This points the way for the emergence of the money form, which is in fact identical with this general form except that gold now replaces the linen of our example.

Thus in this way, in a few crucial pages which have almost always been ignored by commentators on 'Capital', Marx traces the series of logical-historical transitions from the simple commodity form to the money form. Hence he is able to end this section (the third) of the opening chapter of 'Capital' thus:

'The simple commodity form is therefore the germ [emphasis added] of the money form. The riddle of money is thus "solved". Money is a crystal formed of necessity, in the course of exchange, whereby different products of labour are practically equated with one another and thus by practice converted into commodities. The historical and prog-

# LE CAPITAL

PAR

## KARL MARX

TRADUCTION DE M. J. ROY, ENTIEREMENT REVISEE PAR L'AUTEUR



ressive extension of exchange develops the contract latent in commodities, between use-value and value. The necessity of giving an external expression to this contrast for the purpose of commercial intercourse, urges on the establishment of an independent form of value and finds no rest until it is once and for all satisfied by the differentiation of commodities into commodities and money.' (Marx I, p. 87.)

Marx is now able to explain the real mystery of the commodity form which he treats in the final and famous last section of the opening chapter. He explains, after his analysis of the elementary form of value and its further development, that under capitalism (a) the equality of human labour is expressed not as this equality but in the form of distinctly different commodities, such as linen and overcoats (b) the quantity of social labour time congealed in each commodity is not expressed in a direct comparison of time but in the indirect phenomenal form of equal quantities of value (c) relations of people take the necessary appearance as relations between things and (d) the social character of labour, 'that its relation to total human output, appears as something else, as the value relation of a multitude of commodities to one universal equivalent, money.

Having now established the genesis of the money form Marx goes on to show how this can under definite circumstances lead to the emergence of capital.

'Value... suddenly presents itself as an independent substance endowed with a motion of its own... money in process as such, capital.'

This transaction from money to capital is reflected in the circulation formula which Marx discusses; under simple commodity production we have C - M - C (money-commodities-money).

In the former we see that money acts as a medium of circulation as a means of purchasing what one needs; in the latter it is transformed into its opposite—now the owner of the means of production uses money to buy what he does not need in order to augment

his capital, that independent 'stream of gold and silver' which now dominates production.

As we have said several times, the transitions involved in the movement from commodity to money to capital were historical as well as logical (dialectical). As Marx says (I, p. 61):

'It therefore follows that the elementary value-form is also the primitive form under which a product of labour appears historically as a commodity, and that the gradual transformation of such products into commodities proceeds *pari passu* with the development of the value-form.'

Not that this was a mechanical process; while one can say that 'capital' is 'latent' within 'commodity' it required the existence of material conditions, the outcome of a long process of class struggles for this potential development to be realized.

The circulation of commodities and the existence of money in one of its various forms pre-existed capitalism by many hundreds of years. But speaking of capital Marx says (I, p. 170):

'The historical conditions of its existence are by no means given with the mere circulation of money and commodities. It can spring to life only when the owner of the means of production and subsistence meets in the market with the free labourer selling his labour-power. And this one historical condition comprises a world's history. Capital, therefore, announces from its first appearance a new epoch in the process of social production.'

Why did Marx spend such a long time on the problem of the form of value? We can see that this receives much fuller treatment in 'Capital' (1867) than it does in 'Critique' (1859) and was revised no less than four times with the help of Engels, Kugelmann and others between this latter date and 1872.

He did so precisely because he wished to show the links between the contradictions within the commodity and

their heightened expression within capital. Here was most decisive break with classical political economy which had completely ignored any treatment of the form of value, a result of its acceptance of the capitalist system as natural and eternal.

This was why Ricardo and company completely failed to understand either the nature of money or the nature of capital. The former they looked upon merely as a convenient device for overthrowing the problems of barter; the latter they saw only in its concrete form as the 'advance on wages' made by the capitalist.

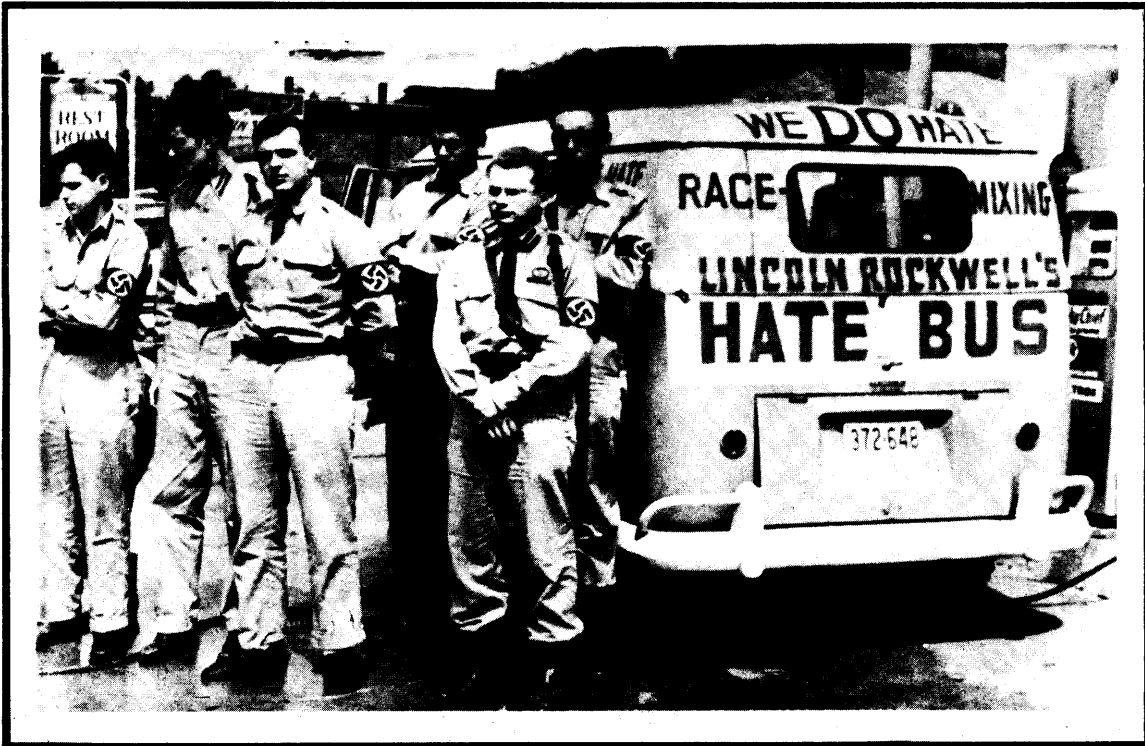
And the Utopian Socialists, whom Marx criticizes in the final part of 'Theories of Surplus Value' had similar illusions, revealed in the proposal of one of this group (Gray) to abolish money while retaining commodity production, equivalent, said Marx, to attempts to retain Catholicism without the Pope.

Again this is of considerable importance in the light of the present financial crisis. For capitalism, basic disturbances in its money system are not 'technical' problems, as the more short-sighted bourgeois commentators may think, but an indication of the profound nature of a crisis which engulfs the very basis of the system.

But equally important, these articles have tried to show that the method of empiricism, which is the method of reformism and revisionism, must lead to the destruction of the real revolutionary method of capital which alone enables to see the genesis and development of all the contradictions of the capitalist system.

This is why Lenin commented: 'Marx may not have left us a logic, but he did leave us the logic of "Capital".'

In this sense, the present articles are only a preliminary sketch of the problems; they must be taken further through a study of 'Capital' alongside Hegel's dialectical method. Only in this way can Marx's masterpiece be preserved from the Stalinists and revisionists and its real content be placed at the disposal of the working class in this period of crisis.



# RIGHT-WING ALLIANCE IN CANADA



**'Love thy neighbour, ...so long as he's white' seems to be the Christian gospel spread by the Rev Robert Miles of Howell Michigan. For this man of God is also an official of the Ku Klux Klan.**

The racist reverend was over in Canada recently, to say grace at a banquet held in Toronto. He told the assembled guests that he regarded Canada as 'the last stronghold of the white, Christian supremacist culture and a place for white Americans to come to if the struggle against the Jewish-conspired mongrelization of white and black is allowed to continue'.

This garbage probably went down well with the guests at the banquet. Among the 130 present were 'fraternal delegates' from the Ku Klux Klan, and former associates of George Lincoln Rockwell (the founder of the American Nazi Party, who was assassinated in 1967). There were two local neo-Nazi supporters present, Martin Weiche and Jack Prins.

It looks as though, with anti-union laws in Britain, neo-fascist electoral successes in Italy, French employers openly raising funds for fascist organizations and trade unionists being arrested in Canada itself, that the lowest forms of extreme right-wing political life have decided it's time to crawl out of the woodwork of decaying capitalism.

The banquet was organized by a right-wing outfit styling itself the Western Guard.

Among speakers was one of the founders of the Western Guard, Paul Fromm. In a speech typical of Nazi demagoguery against 'Jewish finance', Fromm told the guests:

'The real power behind the scenes is the man who signs your dollar bills—a reference to Louis Rasminski, the governor of the Bank of Canada, who is a Jew.

As capitalism is thrown into crisis, and the middle class finds its position threatened, the fascists once again resort to this sort of phoney attack on finance—Hitler was of course, a master at it—but of course, only 'Jewish finance' so that the anger of a frightened petty bourgeoisie is diverted away from becoming any real threat to capitalism and instead turned into an instrument of it.

The significant thing about Fromm's speech and about the presence at this banquet of neo-Nazis and other racials is that Fromm himself is not just the leader of yet another little crackpot group of Nazi fanatics. In fact, he was able to boast at the banquet that his Western Guard had one of the provincial political parties in its grasp. He was referring to the Social Credit Party in Ontario.

Fromm is the president of the Social Credit Association in this Canadian province.

Social Credit was founded as a party before World War II, based on the 'funny money' theories of Major Douglas, whose notions of financial schemes to save the middle class and small farmers from the crisis of capitalism became a fad for a while among worried supporters in various countries, including Britain.

(Among those attracted to Social Credit in this country was the Scots writer Hugh McDiarnid, otherwise known as an admirer of Stalin and a Scottish Nationalist.)

In Canada, the Social Credit Party gained some support, mainly middle-class reaction which soon showed clear fascist tendencies. It has remained a reactionary party, with fascist leanings.

In Ontario, one of the local branch presidents recently resigned because, he said that the Social Credit Association there had become the political arm of a 'Jew-hating, red-baiting, racist and fascist organization'.

The increasingly open alignment of reactionary politicians with outright fascist groups, like the fund-raising being conducted for the fascists in France, indicates that the reactionary forces are also aware that capitalism is in crisis.

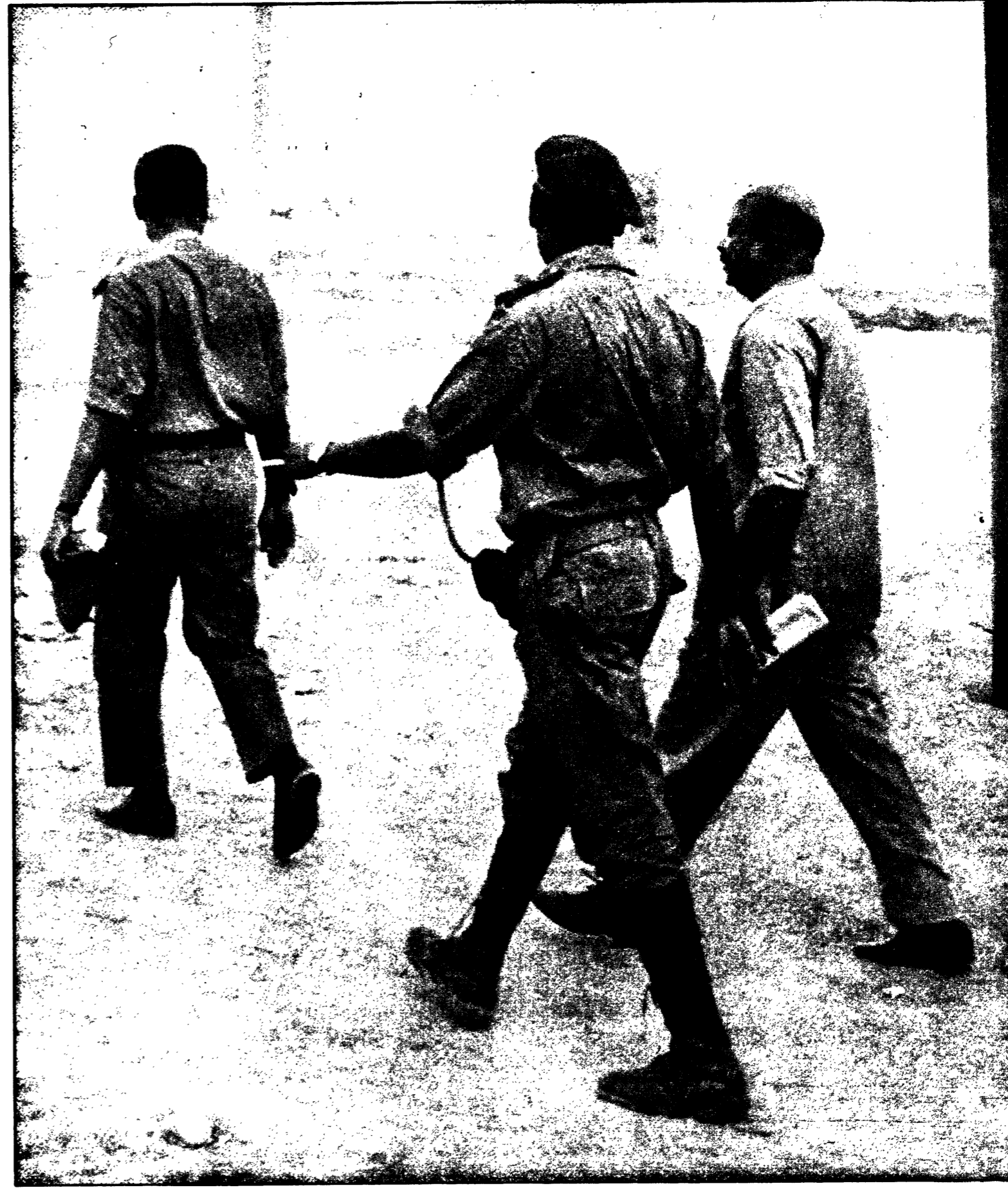
It should be taken as a warning for the working class against any reliance on 'peaceful roads'.

However, one last word for the Rev Robert Miles, Klansman from Michigan.

If as he seems to be thinking, that American reactionaries like him are hoping that, if the worse comes to the worst, they can emulate the American Tories of 1776 by fleeing to Canada to escape the coming American Revolution, then it looks as though they had better think again.

The recent actions of Canadian workers in defence of their union leaders suggest that reactionaries running to Canada will be in for a far from friendly reception!

Top: neo-Nazis in America, followers of Lincoln Rockwell. Left: a Ku Klux Klan wizard.



# SUDAN: STALINISM IN ACTION

**BY JOHN SPENCER**  
 'Marxism Today', the British Communist Party's monthly magazine, has published lengthy extracts from a statement issued last November by the Central Committee of the Sudan CP.

The British Stalinists' action in publishing this document is an attempt to cover their own tracks and conceal their complicity in the Sudan betrayal. The statement analyses the events which led up to and followed the bloody massacre of Sudanese militants by the right-wing Numeiry military dictatorship. It describes the ruthless anti-communist repression carried out against the Sudanese Communist Party by Numeiry after the failure of the left-wing coup attempt on July 19, 1971. But the extracts published by 'Marxism Today' nowhere mention the treacherous role of Soviet and Chinese Stalinism which have continued their close relations with Numeiry despite the massacres. Nor, for that matter, does it mention the eulogies of

Numeiry which appeared in the British Stalinist press prior to the bloody repression in which the leaders of the Sudan CP were murdered. The statement described the Numeiry regime in the following terms: 'The recent period has been marked by active efforts to liquidate the revolutionary movement and at the same time to legitimize fascist methods in government and in political activity: ● Executions, tortures, life sentences, sham tribunals, unlimited detentions, dismissals and expulsions. ● The sham plebiscite which misrepresents the people's will. ● The imposition of the presidential system and personal rule. ● The president's decisions and laws and Republican Orders. ● Anti-communism as a policy and method. ● The open door to all neo-colonialist bodies and institutions, in particular the World Bank and the monopolies to which it opens the way. ● The closing down of all democratic organizations, the imposition of the single political party, the liquidation of the

trade union movement and the suppression of the working-class movement to remove the obstacle to capitalist development and to the return of foreign capital. . . . As far as it goes, this is an accurate enough description of the Numeiry dictatorship, which answers directly to the requirements of imperialism in a period of acute economic crisis. Yet the Numeiry regime has consistently enjoyed—and still enjoys—the support of the Soviet leaders. And until the July coup attempt of 1971 there were three Communist Party representatives in Numeiry's government—who joined at the insistence of the Kremlin! On May 25, in a message to mark the third anniversary of the military coup which brought Numeiry to power, Moscow Radio broadcast a cynical statement wishing the 'Sudanese people' further successes in 'the stubborn struggle against imperialism and reaction and in achieving the hopes and aims reflected in the documents of the programme "May 25 1969"'. The Numeiry programme provided, among other things,

the death penalty for strikers and the abolition of all political parties—including, especially, the Communist Party. Numeiry took at least five CP members into his original Cabinet and there was soon friction between these ministers and the Muslim right-wing. By October, Numeiry had denounced Prime Minister Abu Bakr Awadallah for advocating communist participation in the government adding that the Stalinists must give up 'the rule of parties' and accept 'the philosophy of the revolution'. At the time, Workers Press stated: 'Stalinism, through its policy of uncritical and unprincipled support for the nationalist regime in the Sudan, prepares another bloodbath of communists, workers and peasants on the lines of the Indonesian massacre of 1965.' (October 15, 1969.) And on October 31, 1969, we again warned: 'The military leaders are sharpening their knives for a bloodbath of workers and communists.' A fortnight later, Moscow announced that Leonid Brezhnev and Nikolai Podgorny had accepted an invitation to visit the Sudan.

Soviet policy in the Sudan subordinated the working class to the national bourgeoisie—a relationship symbolized by the presence of CP members in Numeiry's cabinet. The July 19 coup attempt to overthrow Numeiry and install a mainly CP-dominated government 'revealed an essential and important truth', the statement says. This is 'that there is an alternative (potential and objective with live revolutionary cadres) to the dictatorship of the petty bourgeoisie or one of its sections. 'It thus dealt a strong blow at the theories which consider this dictatorship a historical necessity with the working class and the revolutionary movement living or co-existing in its shadow, in submission and humility.' An exact description of Soviet policy! In fact, the statement adds 'the military regimes of the petty bourgeoisie—and more precisely of the Arab nationalists—follow a path which leads to the liquidation of the revolution.' Yet since the Sudan bloodbath, the Kremlin has encouraged the Communist Parties of Iraq and Syria to join exactly this type of regime.

To agree to such a path, the Sudan CP says 'only leads to that section of the petty bourgeoisie which has monopolized power itself becoming counter-revolutionary, either by oppressing the revolution and liquidating it, or by its political and economic policies and its submissiveness to the influence of counter-revolution'. The Sudan CP should know—its leaders are dead and its best militants rotting in jail as a result of this Stalinist policy. And Moscow and Peking continue their relations with Numeiry as if nothing had happened. While belatedly asserting its right to organize independently of the regime (it now has no choice) the Sudan CP, however, remains firmly tied to the Stalinist perspective for the colonial revolution. Its objective is not socialism but democracy as the following extract makes clear: 'The experience of the Sudan has demonstrated—at least for us—that anti-colonialism (and more especially anti-neo-colonialism) and social advance cannot possibly proceed without being linked inside the country with the democratic revolution, on the basis of the rule of a democratic alliance and the application of democracy in all aspects of life. . . . This is nothing more than a formula for another popular front under the signpost of the "democratic alliance". In a situation where the bourgeoisie, under pressure

from imperialism, can rule only by repressing the workers' movement, there is no basis for bourgeois democracy. In fact in a speech delivered to a secret session of Czech Communist Party Central Committee on October 21 last year, Stalinist hard-liner Vasil Bilak attacked the murdered Sudanese leader Abdel Mahgoub for 'moving towards sectarian positions'. He accused Mahgoub of attacking 'Numeiry's democratic revolutionary regime of progressive officers' and pointed out that Numeiry had 'overthrown a government representing the feudalists and the big bourgeoisie'. So according to Bilak, who was installed in office by the Kremlin and is a servile mouthpiece of its policy, the Numeiry regime was 'democratic' and 'revolutionary' anyway! On this basis Bilak claimed it was right to resume relations with Numeiry despite the murder of Mahgoub and his comrades. Revulsion against the killings was a 'noble reaction' but based on a misunderstanding, he said. 'It would not have been wise for us to abandon our hard-won positions in the Sudan or elsewhere. We would only have been playing the game of imperialism, which would be demoralized to see us lose the possibility of influencing events by breaking our contacts with the just struggle of progressive forces.' The Kremlin's support for

reaction in the Middle East—here blatantly expressed by Bilak—is not confined to the Sudan. One of Moscow's chief pre-occupations in the Middle East has been support for the federation of Egypt, Libya, Syria . . . and the Sudan. Only three weeks before the July 19 coup of 1971, Moscow Radio extolled 'the formation of a strong united Arab state' which would have 'a positive influence on the current situation in the Middle East'. The unification of the efforts and resources of the three Arab republics would have a profound and positive effect upon the consolidation of their positions in the struggle against imperialism, the broadcast added. Yet the Sudan CP states categorically that 'there was not within the country any force capable of changing this early course (i.e. overthrowing the July 19 coup) had it not been for the outside manoeuvres and instigation on the part of the Tripartite States, and in particular on the part of Libya and Egypt and the co-operation of British intelligence with them.' So much for the 'positive effect' of the Arab Federation! The Sudan CP statement adds that 'The Egyptian leaders knew that the [Numeiry] regime was relying on the communists and the democratic movement. . . . When they realized that the forces of change were becoming stronger, and they wanted to

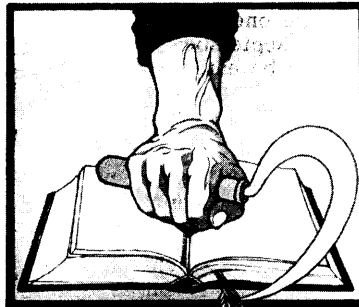
impose the Tripartite Union, they went ahead with . . . opening the door to the right-wing forces.' The Sudanese CP leaders believed that the Numeiry government could be made to adopt a Sudanese Road to Socialism: as the statement puts it: ' . . . whether to follow the non-capitalist road or the road of capitalist development. This was the question that remained open [sic] after May 25, 1969. 'The struggle around this question continued until the right-wing orientation on November 16, 1970, towards freezing the revolution, the abolition of democracy, towards the single-party dictatorship in order to open the way to the right wing and counter-revolution. . . . This date, the statement adds 'marked, in fact, the end of any co-operation between the Communist Party and the regime, and the people of our country saw for themselves the enmity of the regime towards the party's existence in the weeks which followed. . . . the warnings against the wreckers and the imprisonment of Abdel Khalek Mahgoub' the party's general secretary. The statement adds: 'The regime was following its own line, from May 25, aiming at the destruction of the Communist Party. (Our emphasis). In other words, from May 1969 to November 1970, the Sudan CP collaborated with and strengthened a regime

which was all along preparing their destruction! The British CP lavished praise on the Numeiry regime right up to November 1970. Three weeks before the events which revealed 'the enmity of the regime towards the party's existence' leading British Stalinist Idris Cox wrote a series of three articles in the 'Morning Star' describing his tour of Sudan. The last article appeared under the heading: 'This government backs the trade unions' (!) and the series contained the assertion that 'the present trend (in Sudan) is overwhelmingly in favour of a strong and independent CP'. Three weeks later, Abdel Khalek Mahgoub was behind bars, charged with treason, and 13 army officers suspected of CP connections were sacked and three CP members in the Revolutionary Command Council were thrown out. The repressions following the abrupt right-turn on November 16, 1970, prepared the way for the coup attempt of July 19, 1971. The Sudan CP blames 'carelessness and negligence' for the failure of this attempt to seize power. Far more crucial than any 'carelessness' in ensuring the crushing of the Sudanese Communist Party was the policy imposed from the Kremlin—and enthusiastically supported by the British Stalinists.

Above left: President Numeiry, they went ahead with . . . opening the door to the right-wing forces. Above: Sudanese CP leader, Mahgoub being led to his execution by soldiers of Numeiry.

# WILL PAYNTER: INSTRUMENT OF STALINISM

## BOOK REVIEW



'My Generation.' By Will Paynter. George Allen and Unwin Ltd. £1.50, 172 pages.

BY JACK GALE PART 2

Joseph Stalin was the political spokesman of a privileged, conservative strata of Russian society which developed under the conditions of isolation imposed upon an economically - backward country by the defeats of the revolutionary movements—especially in Germany—at the end of World War I.

Under him, the Communist International ceased to be a revolutionary organization and abandoned Lenin's international strategy of independent communist activity.

Leon Trotsky fought in vain to drive home the lessons of the defeat of the German Revolution in 1923 to prevent the total reliance on the TUC bureaucrats in the British General Strike and the subordination of the Chinese Communist Party to Chinag Kai-shek in 1927.

Trotsky was proved right on all these questions. But great class defeats are more powerful than correct analyses and the defeats strengthened the conservative forces inside the Soviet Union. By 1933, the Communist International was no longer making 'mistakes' but had gone over to the side of counter-revolution, bearing the main responsibility for the victory of Hitler over the German working class.

Central to this degeneration of the Communist International was the abandonment of the Leninist struggle to train theoretically communist leaders throughout the world.

Thus, a serious worker like Will Paynter received no theoretical training whatever, despite his willingness to devote his life to the communist cause. It is significant, indeed, that Paynter regarded the Communist International not as a directing centre of world revolutionary activity—what Trotsky called a 'School of Revolutionary Strategy'—but as some sort of co-ordinating committee of various

national activities:

'The Communist International, or Comintern as it was called, operated as a central co-ordinating organization for the national Communist Parties.' ('My Generation', p. 55.)

Lack of political training meant that, with one significant exception, Paynter uncritically accepted the Moscow line on all things during these formative years.

For instance, he can blandly assert: 'Fascism achieved power when the working-class organizations of resistance were fragmented by internal divisions.' (p. 50.) But he nowhere mentions the 'Third Period' politics of the Communist International which declared that the real enemy in Germany was not the fascists but the so-called 'social fascist' Social Democracy!

Paynter must know now, if he did not know then, that the Communist International declared in April, 1933, that a Hitler victory in Germany would actually help, the German working class towards revolution!

He must also know now, if he did not know then, that it was only the Trotskyists who called for unity of the German working class against Hitler and that Trotsky was denounced for this by the Kremlin.<sup>2</sup>

Paynter worked to the best of his ability for the defeat of Franco's fascist forces in Spain. He describes the willingness of British workers—even the unemployed—to give what they could to aid the Spanish workers:

'We could go to the door of any unemployed family in the Rhondda and need only say we were collecting for Spain and without question or exception we would be handed a tin of milk or a pound of sugar or whatever they had to give, and this week after week from the same homes.' (p. 63.)

He rightly condemns the 'non-intervention' policies of the British and French governments, but omits to mention that the Soviet Union also signed the non-intervention pact and that Stalin did not



Joseph Stalin



Will Paynter

begin to send arms to Republican Spain until November, 1936. Even then it was only in sufficient quantity to enable the Spanish Stalinists to defeat their political rivals, never enough to match the arms being poured into Franco's side by Hitler and Mussolini.

Paynter must know now, if he did not know then, that Stalin had publicly declared against sending arms to Spain unless Britain and France did so too. This policy was defended by a leading 'theoretician' of the British Communist Party, Emile Burns, in a long article in the November, 1936, issue of the Party's bulletin 'Discussion', in reply to the growing opposition to Stalin's Spanish policy inside the British Party.<sup>3</sup>

Paynter goes into none of this. But he repeats the Stalinist line that workers who took over factories and peasants who seized the land were 'splitters' who would drive away the liberals and thus aid Franco! (pp. 76-77.) In a letter to Arthur Horner, published here (p. 68) he refers to a section 'who would promote disloyalty and disunity' but who would be 'dealt with'. They were—by Stalin's murder machine. And the Spanish Revolution was drowned in blood.

Again, Paynter denounces the western powers for their policy of 'accommodation'

towards fascism (pp. 52-53), particularly when Mussolini invaded Abyssinia and Hitler attacked Austria and Czechoslovakia. Yet he does not mention that Stalin sent oil to Mussolini which was used in the attack on Abyssinia!

Of the Stalin-Hitler pact there is not a word!

And the vacillations of the British Communist Party on World War II get one paragraph:

'The initial months of the war, the Communist Party was seriously divided on whether the war was a "just" or an "unjust" one. . . . The support of the Communist Party depended on whether the Party considered it was just another imperialist war or a war against fascism. At first the Party supported the war, then reversed to opposition following discussions with Moscow; later when Russia was attacked, the policy reverted to one of support. It seems obvious now that the Party gave too much weight to the assessment of the Russian Party leaders, a disposition that unfortunately did not end with that experience.' (pp. 120-121.)

This enigmatic phrase 'a disposition that unfortunately did not end with that experience' is like the parson's frock—it covers a multitude of sins.

Does Paynter mean the mass slaughter of almost the entire leadership of the Bolshevik

Party and the Communist International, plus hundreds of thousands of innocent people in the Stalin terror? Because he makes no mention of it.

Or does he perhaps mean the support of every Communist Party in the world for the dropping of the atom bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945? For that gets no mention either.

Does he mean the slavish acceptance of the Czech Slansky trials of 1953 (again, no mention)? Or perhaps the Hungarian invasion of 1956—this does get a mention, but only from the point of view of the 'inconvenience' it caused Paynter's family!

By the end of the 1930s Will Paynter was already a slavish Stalinist. But the one issue on which he did react against, the Party leadership, was just as significant as all those on which he meekly toed the line.

The line from the Fifth Congress of the Red International of Labour Unions, to which the Minority Movement was affiliated, heralded the sectarian 'Third Period' policies in the unions.

At the tenth congress of the British Communist Party in 1929 Willie Gallacher urged that the party should campaign to get trade unions to disaffiliate from the TUC and affiliate to the Minority Movement instead. Tom Bell called for a policy of splitting the reform-



ist trade unions and setting up revolutionary ones.

In fact, the party did set up a 'revolutionary' miners' union in Scotland, a 'revolutionary' clothing workers' union in England and a 'revolutionary' London Industrial Council in opposition to the London Trades Council. Each of these organizations quickly became isolated and died.

The one prominent party leader who opposed this policy was Arthur Horner, who, throughout this period, urged that communists should work within the established trade unions, despite their reformist leaderships, because that was where the organized workers were.

He was violently denounced for his pains and accused of supporting 'social fascism'. Paynter records that he felt Horner was being 'pilloried', that the experience left him 'a little sour for a time' and that he dropped out of activity for a few months.

There is no doubt that Horner's position was more 'correct' than that of the Party leadership. But essentially he was opposing the others not from the standpoint of real revolutionary work in the unions, but simply as a trade unionist.

Paynter's sympathy for Horner appears to have been based partly on their close personal friendship and political collaboration, but was also fundamentally a question of 'trade unionism'. It is significant that though Paynter and Horner both opposed the 'left' excesses of 'Third Period' trade unionism, neither at any time opposed the Communist Party's policy for the unemployed during the 1930s—which was to organize the unemployed completely separately



from the employed workers in the unions, and thus to free the union leaders from any obligation towards the jobless.

The basic theoretical task of a revolutionary organization is to raise the level of consciousness of the working class beyond a 'trade union' level. This was laid down clearly in one of Lenin's most important works 'What is to be Done?' Here, Lenin declared:

'Without revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary movement. This idea cannot be insisted upon too strongly at a time when the fashionable preaching of opportunism goes hand in hand with an infatuation for the narrowest forms of practical activity.

'It will be the duty of leaders to gain an ever-clearer insight into all theoretical questions, to free themselves more and more from the influence of traditional phrases inherited from the old world outlook and constantly to keep in mind that socialism, since it has become a science, demands that it be pursued as a science, i.e. that it be studied.'

This was necessary in order to raise the working class to revolutionary consciousness. Growing militancy and strike activity only provided the prerequisite for this to be done:

'The spontaneous element, in essence, represents nothing more nor less than consciousness in an embryonic form ...

The systematic strikes [Lenin is here speaking of the wave of industrial strikes in Russia in the 1890s] represented the class struggle in embryo, but only in embryo. Taken by themselves, these strikes were simply trade union struggles, not yet Social Democratic (i.e. Communist) struggles. They marked the awakening antagonism between workers and employers, but the workers were not, and could not be, conscious of the irreconcilable antagonism of their interests to the whole of the modern political and social system.

'There could not have been Social Democratic (Communist) consciousness among the workers. It would have to be brought to them from without. The history of all countries shows that the working class, exclusively by its own effort, is able to develop only trade union consciousness, i.e. the conviction that it is necessary to combine in unions, fight the employers, and strive to compel the government to pass necessary labour legislation, etc. The theory of socialism, however, grew out of the philosophic, historical and economic theories elaborated by educated representatives of the propertied classes, by intellectuals.'

Lenin warns that without this, the working class, no matter how militant, remains dominated by the ideology of capitalism:

'All belittling of the role of "the conscious element", of the role of Social Democracy (Communism), means, quite independently of whether he who belittles that role desires it or not, a strengthening of the influence of bourgeois ideology upon the workers.'

After the experience of the betrayals perpetrated by the reformist trade union leaders during and after World War I, this task of training workers as conscious Marxists was extended to include fighting for revolutionary leadership of the unions and written into the constitution of the Communist International when it was set up in 1919.

Section 2 of the Conditions for Affiliation to the Communist International reads:

'Every organization which wishes to join the Communist International must, in orderly and planned fashion, remove reformists and centrists from all responsible positions in the working-class movement (party organizations, editorial boards, trade unions, parliamentary fractions, co-operatives, local government bodies) and replace them by tried Communists even if, particularly at the beginning, "experienced" opportunists have to be replaced by ordinary rank-and-file workers.'

Now contrast this with how Paynter sees his role, as a 'communist' at the head of the National Union of Mine-workers:

'It has often been said of me that I was a miner and trade unionist first and a communist second. Judging this in retrospect, I have to admit that it has a great deal of truth in it which became more apparent as my duties and responsibilities within the union increased. It was true, too, of Arthur Horner and of most leaders who have lived and worked in the mining valleys of South Wales.

'Politics take second place to the trade union job, and if and when they conflict, as they did on occasions for Horner and myself, loyalty to the trade union and its decisions came first. This in my opinion is the only way a communist trade union official can function and earn the respect of union members and be accepted by supporters and opponents as a person of integrity and principle.

'I think the process of development is from thinking and acting purely as a communist, to thinking and acting

as a communist who has accepted that his primary obligation is to the interests of the union and its members.

'There are occasions when these two positions do not coincide and where, rightly or wrongly, one has to make a judgement and stand by it and face criticism from one's friends, but the point is that the communist with these responsibilities will think and react to situations in a somewhat different way from the communist without, which can result in opposing stands being taken in given situations.' (p. 109.)

The communists in 'different situations' were, of course, those in top union jobs and those fighting for wages and conditions in the ranks. As Paynter admits, he attacked the unofficial strike movement in the mines at his very first presidential address in 1952. He returned to the attack on 'irresponsible conduct' in 1956 and throughout his period of office, even though those responsible were, as he says, 'both communist and labour militants'. (p. 131.)

But it would be crude and wrong to ascribe this to a 'soft job at the top'.

The physical destruction of the Bolshevik cadres by Stalin was accompanied by a systematic onslaught on the principles and methods of revolutionary Marxism. The battle to recruit and train workers as Marxists was abandoned. It was this which destroyed Will Paynter, which left him at the mercy of bourgeois ideology, which turned him into an opportunist 'left' labour bureaucrat.

The Stalinists could not train him as a communist, and, of course, they did not want to. Horner and Paynter carried out the policies of Stalinism in the 1950s and 1960s—full speed ahead on productivity in the first post-war years when the Western Alliance with Stalin was still on, before Churchill's 1949 Fulton speech.

This was followed by years of collaboration with right-wing Labour and trade union leaders—the 'peaceful road to socialism' in practice.

In the end, of course, Paynter walked out on them. He attributes his resignation from the Communist Party in retirement from the NUM to a long-standing family arrangement due to the difficulties his Party membership posed for his relatives.

This hardly holds water. Yet he retains some loyalty to the Party of which he was a member almost all his life—he does not pour calumny on it, as others who have moved to the right have done.

Paynter's resignation seems like the act of a politically-demoralized man.

It is the task of Trotskyism to ensure that young workers who seek the road to communism are saved from the path that Will Paynter took.

The struggle today is for revolutionary leadership in the unions, round the demands for a recall of the TUC Congress to reaffirm opposition to the Industrial Relations Act and the campaign to force the TUC to call a General Strike to bring down the Tory government, combined with the construction of a mass youth movement and revolutionary party.

This will ensure that future generations will not go the same way as—with some honourable exceptions—Will Paynter's did.

<sup>1</sup> See Robert Black 'Stalinism in Britain' New Park Publications p. 98

<sup>2</sup> op cit page 83

<sup>3</sup> See Robert Black p. 113

<sup>4</sup> Lenin 'What is to be Done?' in Collected Works Volume 5. Lawrence and Wishart. The sections quoted are between pp 372-383.

# WORKERS NOTEBOOK

## The record

Len Neal, ex-big-time official in the Transport and General Workers' Union, is the head of the Commission on Industrial Relations, which was re-constituted under the Industrial Relations Act.



It falls to Neal to organize the compulsory ballot of Britain's 230,000 railway workers on the rail dispute.

Neal just happened to be the head of British Rail's industrial relations department before joining the CIR.

There have been recent press boasts about how the revamped CIR has roared into action under Neal's great leadership.

Just for the record, therefore, we put down the references to the CIR which have been noted so far.

The Ready-made and Wholesale Bespoke Tailoring Wages Council, The Dressmaking and Women's Light Clothing Wages Council (England and Wales), The Dressmaking and Women's Light Clothing Wages Council (Scotland), The Wholesale Mantle and Costume Wages Council, The Shirtmaking Wages Council, The Hat, Cap and Millinery Wages Council, The Corset Wages Council, The Retail Bespoke Tailoring Wages Council (England and Wales), The Retail Bespoke Tailoring Wages Council (Scotland), The Rubber Proofed Garment Making Industry Wages Council, The Stamped or Pressed Metal-Wares Wages Council, The Hollow-ware Wages Council, The Pin, Hook and Eye and Snap Fastener Wages Council, The Keg and Drum Wages Council, The

Coffin Furniture and Cerement Making Wages Council.

Neal is intensely ambitious and it is thought he does not plan to spend the next few years listening to problems of the pin, hook and eye trade. Keep your eye on Neal—known affectionately as 'Dodger'.

## 'Crumbs

Pensioners are getting a £1 rise in September. The advantage will be eaten away by the rise in prices by then. But the Tories claimed it was all they could afford.

A logic which they do not apparently apply to themselves.

They have just voted in increases which—in the words of one Tory junior minister—will allow MPs to retire 'comfortably and honourably—but not luxuriously'.

Under the scheme Ted Heath's pension increase has shattered all government pay norms.

It leaps by almost 100 per cent from £4,000 to £7,500, which equals the combined working wage of about three working-class families.

After 40 years' service in the House of Commons, MPs will all be able to retire on two-thirds of their income. The Speaker gets a pension of £6,500 and the Lord Chancellor's pension will increase from £6,500 to £8,000.

There was scarcely a murmur of protest from the Labour benches. Labour deputy leader Douglas Houghton reassured any who might have had a twinge of conscience. The British MPs, he said, treated themselves less generously than members of any legislature in the world.

One malcontent did rise to his feet, however. This was Arthur Lewis, Labour member for West Ham. He said 'crumbs' were being given to the MPs and 'luscious cream cake' to the others (believed to be a reference to the elderly workers of Great Britain whose idle and lavish style of living is now an open scandal).

Lewis's complaints were sensibly rejected. The Bill was given an unopposed second reading.

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# Fighting the Tories' Rent Bill

## Rents Bill 'election' on London housing estate

BY PHILIP WADE

**SOUTH PADDINGTON tenants' leaders consider the Tory government has no mandate for pushing through its 'fair rent' legislation.**

On the sprawling Warwick Estate, with its 1,600 dwellings, they aim to press home the point.

On June 18, second anniversary of the Tory election win, tenants will be asked to vote on the question.

Fiery chairman of the estate's tenants' association is Mrs Kaye McNicholas, a member of the Labour Party for 14 years.

### No mandate

The other week she addressed a meeting of Hammersmith Trades Council just after Labour councillors in the area had voted 46-11 to implement the Housing Finance Bill.

'My message to those councillors was clear,' she told me.

'There can be no half measures. You can't run with the hare and hunt with the hounds. They are traitors to the tenants—it's as simple as that.'

Mrs McNicholas added: 'As far as I'm concerned the government has no mandate for this Bill or anything else for that matter.'

Her husband is also under attack—from another direction.

As a member of the NUR he has just been told that it is virtually compulsory to work



If rents double on the Warwick Estate (above), as they will under the Housing Finance Bill, some families fear they may have to take in boarders.

rest days. And he has been forced to go through with what he considers a Tory-controlled ballot.

'You can't divide the Industrial Relations Act from any of these other questions like housing and rents,' said Mrs McNicholas.

'Heath said last week that he was just protecting the consumer

—not really trying to take on the trade unions.

'He said he was trying to keep inflation down. Yet they create inflation with rent increases.

'On the one hand they say to me "Your husband can't have a decent wage increase", and then they come through with a rent rise.

'Wages are kept down and the most essential thing—the necessary right to decent housing—is attacked.

'As far as the "fair rents" Bill is concerned the Tories tell us it is "socially desirable" for people to own their own houses.

'It might be desirable, but it's impossible. A young girl I know went after a house, and before she knew, it had gone up £2,000.

'I get furious when I hear them say people are better off.

'How can they be so blatant to get up and say these things? Do they really believe them?'

### Boarders

Mrs McNicholas used to live in the depressed houses around where the Westway motor route now carves through West London.

She was rehoused when the motorway was built.

Her rent now stands at a massive £7.56 following a 75p rent-and-rates increase last April.

She feels that many of the problems that accompanied overcrowded conditions in the old houses demolished by the council will return with the Housing Finance Bill.

'Although we've now got better homes we also have frustrated, tired mothers who have to go out to work cleaning in the evening for a few hours to subsidise the husband's income to pay the rent.

'If rents double, as they will in the next three or four years with this Bill, tenants will have to start taking in boarders to be able to pay the rent.

'The estates will turn into slums quicker because people won't be able to afford to do the decorating, and because the local authorities evade their responsibilities.

'What could come is a return to the old days of overcrowding—not because the housing isn't there, but because people can't afford it.



Mrs Kaye McNicholas: 'No half measures'

'It's one way of solving the housing problem—there's no doubt about that. As someone said: there's no waiting list for fur coats, they're too expensive!

'The only people who will gain from this Bill are the investors and the moneylenders.

'We all know that already that every 80p tenants pay in rents goes back to these people in interest charges.

'I didn't get much of a reply when I asked a local Tory MP if we could have tax relief on this interest just like those who get relief on mortgage repayments!

'What I'd like to see is free interest rates to councils and the nationalization of all land. This is the root problem of housing—not building workers' wages or the cost of bricks.'

Mrs McNicholas warned: 'If it doesn't happen soon—and I'd never have said this two or three years ago—with all the frustration among young people I can see things getting so bad that it could lead to a revolution.

'The youngsters of today just won't stand for it.

'If they want to buy a house,

they're forever putting down a deposit as the prices soar and soar. They'll be saving up forever more.

'Housing requires a political solution, that's true. But there has to be a demand for this solution by workers generally.

'Trade unions and tenants associations have to come together and present a united front; the only way the working class will win is when they say "We are the working class and the country can't run without us".

'As a member of the Labour Party, I say persuasion will have to come from the grass-roots of the party to make sure the next Labour government pursues socialist policies.

'I want all Labour Party policies on housing to be submitted to local constituencies before being adopted.

'The position I don't want to see any more is where Tories are able to stand up and say they're only carrying on Labour policies.

'And the way things are going I can't see the Tories lasting. There will be such a demand for a general election I think one will be forced.'

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## 'Tories have no mandate', say tenants

## REGIONAL TV

**CHANNEL:** 2.40 Unicorn, 3.10 Desert people, 4.05 Yak, 4.18 Puffin, 4.22 Funny face, 4.50 Skippy, 5.20 London, 6.00 News, weather, 6.10 Hogan's heroes, 6.35 Crossroads, 7.00 Film: 'Woman of Straw', 9.00 London, 10.30 Maverick, 11.20 News, weather.

**WESTWARD.** As Channel except: 3.55 Gus Honeybun, 4.18 News, 6.00 Diary, 10.30 Report, 10.59 News, 11.03 Theatre, 11.55 Faith for life.

**SOUTHERN:** 1.40 Jesus revolution? 2.15 Cartoons, 2.30 London, 3.00 Afloat, 3.30 From a bird's eye view, 4.00 Houseparty, 4.15 Sean the leprechaun, 4.30 Crossroads, 4.55 Richard the lionheart, 5.20 London, 6.00 Day by day, Crime desk, 6.45 Simon Locke, 7.15 Film: 'The Violent Men', 9.00 London, 11.00 News, 11.10 Film: 'The Devil's Pass', 12.20 Weather, Epilogue.

**ANGLIA:** 2.30 London, 3.15 Randall and Hopkirk, 4.05 News, 4.10 Jimmy Stewart, 4.40 Paulus, 4.55 Skippy, 5.20 London, 6.00 About Anglia, 6.20 Arena, 6.35 Crossroads, 7.00 Film: 'Rope of Sand', 9.00 London, 10.30 Test case for paradise, 11.15 Cinema, 11.45 Avengers.

**ATV MIDLANDS:** 3.10 Good afternoon, 3.35 Straw, 3.45 Women today, 4.10 Family affair, 4.40 Rupert Bear, 4.55 Secret service, 5.20 London, 6.00 Today, 6.35 Crossroads, 7.00 Sky's the limit, 7.30 Film: 'Manfish', 9.00 London, 11.00 O'Hara.

**ULSTER:** 4.30 Romper room, 4.50 News, 4.55 Arthur, 5.20 London, 6.00 UTV reports, 6.15 Tommy, 6.35 Crossroads, 7.00 Dr Simon Locke, 7.30 Film: 'I'd Climb the Highest Mountain', 9.00 London, 11.00 What's it all about? 11.20 Avengers.

**YORKSHIRE:** 1.00 Sean the leprechaun, 1.15 Arthur, 1.40 Randall and Hopkirk, 2.32 London, 3.00 Music of the Highlanders, 3.15 Department S, 4.10 Calendar news, 4.15 Crossroads, 4.40 Nuts and bones, 4.55 Bugs Bunny, 5.20 London, 6.00 Calendar, weather, 6.30 Smith family, 7.00 Cartoon time, 7.10



'The Goodies', appearing at the Young Socialists' fair for the Pilkington glassworkers

Six days, 9.00 London, 10.30 Sport, 11.05 Cinema, 11.35 Drive in, 12.05 Minutes that changed history, 12.35 Weather.

**GRANADA:** 10.50 World of life, 11.00-12.00 We need each other, 1.55 Scotland Yard case book, 2.25 Saint, 3.25 All our yesterdays, 3.55 Camera in action, 4.10 News, Peyton Place, 4.40 Nuts and bones, 4.50 Make a wish, 5.15 London, 6.00 Newscast, Police file, 6.25 I dream of Jeannie, 7.00 London, 7.30 Film: 'McMillan and Wife', 8.50 Sylvester, 9.00 London, 11.00 On the line, 11.30 Whiplash.

**TYNE TEES:** 12.20 Forest rangers, 12.45 From a bird's eye view, 1.10 Edgar Wallace, 2.05 A game of islands, 2.30 London, 3.00 Music of the Highlanders, 3.15 Corwin, 4.10 News, 4.15 Crossroads, 4.40 Nuts and bones, 4.55 Rovers, 5.20 London, 6.00 Today, 6.30 Smith family, 7.00 Popeye, 7.10 Film: 'Julie', 9.00

London, 10.30 Sportstime, 11.00 Police call, 11.05 Cinema, 11.35 Drive in, 12.00 News, 12.15 Revolving chair.

**SCOTTISH:** 1.25 Technoflash, 1.50 Out of town, 2.10 Portugal, 3.00 This is your life, 3.30 Once upon a time, 3.45 Crossroads, 4.10 Dateline, 4.55 Fireball XL5, 5.20 London, 6.00 Dateline, 6.15 A place of her own, 7.00 Film: 'The Law and the Lady', 9.00 London, 11.00 Late call, 11.05 Expansions, 11.45 Beagan gaidhlig.

**GRAMPIAN:** 2.20 Gideon's way, 3.10 Survival, 3.34 News, 3.35 Job look, 3.45 Women today, 4.10 Julia, 4.40 Nuts and bones, 4.55 Rumble jumble, 5.20 London, 6.00 News, weather, 6.05 Folk afore us, 7.00 Andy, 7.30 Film: 'The Girls of Pleasure Island', 8.55 Police news, 9.00 London, 11.00 Viewfinder, 11.30 Edgar Wallace, 12.30 Epilogue.

## BBC 1

9.45 Mr Benn, 10.00 Champion, 10.25 Parsley, 10.30 Soper at large, 10.55 Magic roundabout, 12.55 Dechrau canu, 1.30 Joe, 1.45-1.53 News and weather, 3.45 Working with youth, 4.10 Parsley, 4.15 Play school, 4.40 Magic roundabout, 4.45 Jackanory, 4.55 Blue Peter, 5.20 Boss cat, 5.44 Hector's house, 5.50 News and weather.

6.00 **NATIONWIDE.** Your region tonight.

6.45 **WHERE IN THE WORLD.**

7.00 **SPY TRAP.** Lorna,

7.25 **TOP OF THE POPS.**

8.00 **THE GOODIES.**

8.30 **THAT MONDAY MORNING FEELING.** A Return to—The Signal box.

9.00 **NINE O'CLOCK NEWS** and weather.

9.20 **PLAY: 'THE FISHING PARTY'.** Three miners plan a weekend's fishing.

10.15 **24 HOURS.**

11.00 **HARVEY SMITH, YORKSHIREMAN.**

11.30 **MISTRESS OF HARDWICK.** Cousin to King James.

11.55 **Weather.**

## BBC 2

11.00-11.25 Play school, 5.35-6.00 Open University.

6.35 **WORKING WITH YOUTH.**

7.05 **OPEN UNIVERSITY.**

7.30 **NEWSROOM** and weather.

8.00 **EUROPA.** Sweden — Socialist Paradise?

8.30 **THE GOLDEN BOWL.** Maggie.

9.10 **RAILWAYS FOREVER.**

# TV

## ITV

12.05 Outlook, 1.30 Time to remember, 2.00 Scotland Yard mysteries, 2.30 Good afternoon! 3.00 Houseparty, 3.15 Jokers wild, 3.45 Marcus Welby, 4.40 Nuts and bones, 4.55 Secret squirrel, 5.20 Magpie, 5.50 News.

6.00 **TODAY.**

6.45 **CROSSROADS.**

7.10 **FILM: 'THE GOOD DIE YOUNG'.** Laurence Harvey, Margaret Leighton, Crime thriller.

9.00 **NEAREST AND DEAREST.** For Better, For Worse.

9.30 **THIS WEEK.**

10.00 **NEWS AT TEN.**

10.30 **CINEMA.** Peter Yates.

11.00 **SOMETHING TO SAY.** Evolutionary accident or Spiritual Man?

12.00 **IS IT A HANDICAP?**

9.20 **SHOW OF THE WEEK: NEIL DIAMOND.**

10.05 **YESTERDAY'S WITNESS.** Who Was Carl Goerdeler?

10.50 **NEWS ON 2** and weather.

10.55 **FILM: 'THE YOUNG ONE'.** Second of Luis Bunuel's films about the struggle of a musician on the run from a rape charge in the American South.



Mirrlees workers in good spirits at the start of their sit-in

# Union circular 'took away our strike power'

By OUR OWN REPORTERS

A THOUSAND workers at Mirrlees-Blackstone diesel engines plant at Stockport returned to work yesterday after accepting a management offer of improved pay and holidays.

They were disappointed, however, that no headway had been made on hours.

The settlement gives across-the-board increases of £2.50 a week, plus 50p a week productivity bonus and an extra two days' holiday.

But John Doughty, convenor for the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers, said yesterday: 'If there had been no circular from head office I think the men would have gone on.'

'But it took our bargaining power away and we had to be realistic and face facts.'

The circular from the AUEW

## our strike power'

executive stressed that because of the difficulty of winning all their demands, the engineers should limit their fight to pay and holidays only.

**THE REV** Ian Paisley today demanded new army offensives against the IRA.

'I call upon the Whitelaw administration immediately to instruct the army to leave their defensive role and go into offensive action against the murderers and rebels,' he said in a statement in Belfast.

# IRA suspects will have no jury

**THE** three judges of a special no-jury court set up in Dublin to try IRA suspects were named yesterday.

Similarities between the new court and the Industrial Relations Court is striking.

Although as in the NIRC normal rules of evidence will

**FOUR** parliamentary questions on fairground were tabled yesterday by Mr Leslie Huckfield, Labour MP for Nuneaton.

He is asking the Home Secretary Mr Maudling: if he will introduce legislation to strengthen safety standards on permanent and travelling showground sites;

apply the judges will arrange their own court procedure.

The new court reflects the break-up of formal law in the face of mounting social and political crisis, and, like the NIRC, it is a blatantly political instrument clearly intended to be unfettered by the niceties of even bourgeois justice.

if he will enforce by law recommendations on fairground safety published by the British Safety Council in 1964; and if he will introduce legislation requiring fairground operators to display the dates their machinery was manufactured and when it was last tested by a qualified independent engineer.

**NOW WEEKLY**

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## Engineers urge Labour fight on rents Bill

LINCOLN AUEW No. 15 branch, at its meeting on May 30, passed a resolution deploring the Tory government's Housing Finance Bill and urging the Lincoln Constituency Labour Party, and all Labour councillors, to make a firm decision of non-implementation.

# WILSON'S FRIENDLY ADVICE TO HEATH

BY ALEX MITCHELL

'IF WE want lasting peace and a fair deal in dockland, my advice to Mr Heath is "NIRC out, Devlin in".' These are the pitiful words of Labour leader, Harold Wilson, as he spoke to the boilermakers' annual conference at Worthing yesterday.

Wilson's treacherous call for Lord Devlin to be brought in as a mediator comes on the eve of the national docks strike due to start tomorrow.

Devlin's committee of inquiry into dock labour and wages reported in 1965 and 1966.

The reports ushered the way in for huge productivity increases and consequent loss in jobs. Since 1965 a total of 20,000 dock jobs have been lost.

Speaking to delegates yesterday Wilson said: 'I do not say that a wise and learned judge, be he Sir John Donaldson or Lord Devlin, is necessarily precluded from helping to secure peace, justice and the achievement of industrial democracy in dockland.'

'I do maintain that the wisest judge, a Daniel come to judgement, the Archangel Gabriel himself wigged and gowned, could not solve the problems of dockland, indeed do anything

but exacerbate them, on the narrow restrictive and prejudicial references which are envisaged in the Industrial Relations Act.'

Just compare this rambling nonsense to the class-war language Heath used in his Luton Hoo speech last weekend:

'But let no one ask this government to surrender. If there is anyone who still imagines that they can, for political purposes, pick an easy fight with us, I must warn them: You've come to the wrong place. You're wasting your time.'

Incredibly, Wilson's speech to the boilermakers was supposed to have been a reply to Heath! But his 'reply' turned out to be a mixture of slapstick and advice for the Tory leader.

Referring to the docks crisis he advised Heath to bring back Devlin—a 'wise and trusted' man who is 'alive to, and skilled in dealing with, the human issues involved'.

Wilson said he felt some sympathy for any Employment Secretary faced with the deep human problems of the docks dispute.

'I would feel a great deal more if the Conservative government's provocative and ideological approach to the docks from the moment they took office had not made these deep-seated and intransigent problems a great deal worse.'

Referring to the NIRC, he said: 'A court constituted as this is by the Tory industrial relations law is not only manifestly irrelevant and inadequate to deal with the ferment of human relations on the waterfront, it must, by the actions required of it, make them worse.'

On the rail issue he said the government was forcing a confrontation to save face for the Prime Minister.

'The provocative way in which this dispute has been handled is due to a deliberate government confrontation to save Mr Heath's face after his humiliation over the miners' dispute—a humiliation brought on by his failure to begin to understand people like miners, and his inept miscalculation of industry's need for coal and electricity to keep going.'

'Vanity had been affronted; virility had to be asserted.'



Unattached dockers picket Midland Cold Store

## Dockers demand right to work

FROM PHILIP WADE

THESE MEN have only worked one full day in five months. They are some of London's ever-growing pool of unattached dockers.

Yesterday they were picketing the Midland Cold Store inland container clearance depot in East London.

'We are not interested in a £3-a-week increase in fall back pay,' one said. 'We want the right to work.'

'Money's not the issue here at all—jobs are what it's all about.'

For four weeks now pickets have been outside Midland Cold Store and three other London depots, including two as far out as Dagenham.

'We laid a claim to this place before it was put down about four years ago,' another picket said.

'Tribunals and inquiries have got us nowhere and we know it.'

So we had to take this action to claim back our work.

'And it doesn't matter what the National Industrial Relations Court or anyone else say—they won't stop us,' he added.

Very few containers have got into the depot since the picketing began. Nearly all lorry drivers have turned around when told the place was blocked.

The hundred or so workers inside are mainly members of USDAW, the shop workers'

The pickets were unanimous that today's docks delegates' meeting had to go through with the planned strike.

'The feeling on the docks is 100 per cent for the strike,' one said. 'All the promises we've had from employers in the past were con tricks.'

## Crane sit-in ends



The press moves in as protest ends

THE NINE-DAY sit-in up a crane by Peter Kavanagh ended yesterday when he climbed down from his 120-foot high perch above the National Hospital site in Holborn.

Making his way through an army of photographers and television cameras he joined a 500-strong demonstration of London building workers who had struck for half a day in his support.

He began his sit-in in protest against losing his job as a steel-fixer. The rest of the Lovell site has been shut by an unofficial strike.

Kavanagh was helped to the front of the demonstration which moved off to a meeting in Euston.

The crane sit-ins are being supported by the Communist Party-backed 'Building Workers' Charter' movement.

## Triumph clerks on picket

CLERICAL workers at two Triumph car factories at Speke, Liverpool, went on unofficial strike yesterday after rejecting a £3-a-week management pay offer.

The workers, all members of the Association of Professional, Executive and Computer Staffs (APEX), picketed gates at the two factories yesterday.

A number of men were laid off after supplies required for production failed to get into the plants because drivers would not cross the picket lines.

## George Jackson's father fined \$100 for contempt

THE father of George and Jonathan Jackson was yesterday cited for contempt by the presiding judge in the Angela Davis trial because he refused to testify for the prosecution. He was fined \$100.

Lester Jackson, a Pasadena, California, postman was called as a rebuttal witness for the State.

Chief prosecutor Albert Harris asked him if he drove his wife and his son Jonathan to the Los Angeles International Airport at about 9 a.m. on August 1, 1970.

Jackson responded: 'I had only

two sons, and I just don't want to take part in this proceeding for the preservation of my mental health.'

His attorney, Jack Tenner of Los Angeles, told presiding judge Richard Arnason that forcing Jackson to testify would not only be 'legally impermissible but morally outrageous'.

The judge explained the penalties for contempt but Jackson still refused to testify and was fined \$100.

The Angela Davis trial is now in its closing stages, and the prosecution was expected to present its closing argument to the San Jose jury today.



Wilson

### LATE NEWS WEATHER

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CIRCULATION  
01-622 7029

MORE than 1,000 tally clerks in London's dockland, meeting at Poplar yesterday, unanimously decided to stage a week-long strike, starting next Monday, in protest over redundancies.

They threw out resolutions from their executive committee calling for one-day token stoppages and for men to declare themselves redundant when colleagues are returned to the unattached register. The clerks, who check the loading and unloading of cargoes, are seeking an assurance from the port employers that the redundancies will cease.

A SMALL depression will move eastwards across southern districts of England.

Eastern districts of England and Scotland will have bright spells and some showers.

Central and South-West districts of England, Northern Ireland, and Wales will be cloudy with occasional rain, although it will become brighter in the South-West later.

North-West districts of England will start bright but it will become cloudy with some rain later.

Western districts of Scotland will have sunny spells and isolated showers.

Temperatures will be slightly below the seasonal average, but it will be rather cool in eastern districts.

Outlook for Friday and Saturday: Sunny intervals and occasional showers at first, but more general rain and strong winds spreading from the West followed by blustery showers. Temperatures near normal at first, but becoming rather cool.

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